

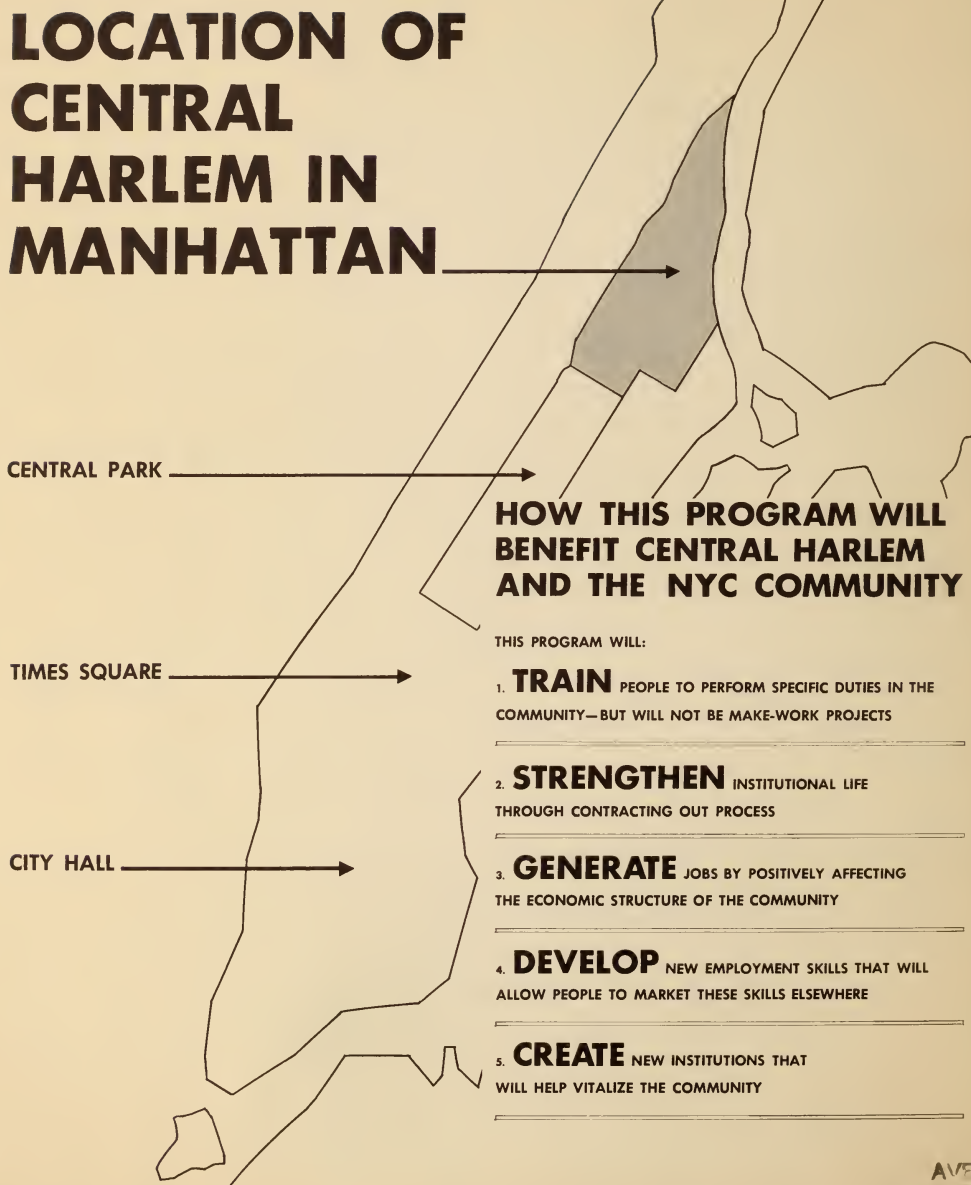
HARLEM YOUTH  
UNLIMITED  
HARYOU

## **YOUTH IN THE GHETTO**

**A STUDY OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF POWERLESSNESS  
AND A BLUEPRINT FOR CHANGE**

## **A SUMMARY**

# LOCATION OF CENTRAL HARLEM IN MANHATTAN



CENTRAL PARK

TIMES SQUARE

CITY HALL

## HOW THIS PROGRAM WILL BENEFIT CENTRAL HARLEM AND THE NYC COMMUNITY

THIS PROGRAM WILL:

1. **TRAIN** PEOPLE TO PERFORM SPECIFIC DUTIES IN THE  
COMMUNITY—BUT WILL NOT BE MAKE-WORK PROJECTS

2. **STRENGTHEN** INSTITUTIONAL LIFE  
THROUGH CONTRACTING OUT PROCESS

3. **GENERATE** JOBS BY POSITIVELY AFFECTING  
THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

4. **DEVELOP** NEW EMPLOYMENT SKILLS THAT WILL  
ALLOW PEOPLE TO MARKET THESE SKILLS ELSEWHERE

5. **CREATE** NEW INSTITUTIONS THAT  
WILL HELP VITALIZE THE COMMUNITY

# YOUTH IN THE GHETTO

## A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change

by Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc.

1964

### INTRODUCTION

Among the most important challenges facing the Negro as he struggles for his place in a more democratic America, is that of preparing Negro youth to meet the single-standard competition of a nonsegregated society. Large numbers of ghetto youth, caught between their awareness of the standards of the larger society and the knowledge that they are not personally equipped to meet these demands, tend to or are forced to confine their quest for personal status within the walls of the ghetto.

Too many of these young people express their sense of personal defeat through stagnation, despair, and flirtation with narcotics as their means of developing social patterns of compensatory status which are compatible with ghetto modes. The overt delinquent, the acting-out rebel, rejects the values, aspirations, and techniques of the larger society because that larger society has clearly rejected him. His conscious or unconscious logic which reality tends to support is that the acceptable avenues of positive self-esteem are blocked for him by inadequate education, job discrimination, and pervasive social insensitivity and indifference, and political power which is not responsive to his needs.

It would be easy to state the objectives of this program primarily, if not exclusively, in terms of delinquency prevention or other overt problems of youth. The delinquent, however, must be viewed merely as an anguished symptom of more basic and systemic social pathology. Despite the ambiguity of delinquency statistics even in the highest delin-

quency areas, 90 percent of the young people are not overtly delinquent. These nondelinquent youth can not be ignored. We have no data on the price they are required to pay in hopelessness and despair. We have no way of calculating the social costs inherent in the wastage of their human, creative potentials. A dynamic and truly significant program must take into account the need to salvage, conserve, and nurture this vast majority of the community's young people.

The rationale of any effective program for youth must accept the human and practical reality that the masses of Negro youth are not expendable. They cannot be abandoned while we struggle for the actuality of a nonsegregated society. During this transition period, something must be done to salvage the bulk of these young people. They must be provided with the skills, the strength of personality, the stability of character, and the confidence which are required to achieve, and to function effectively within, a nonsegregated society.

### THE ORGANIZATION OF HARYOU IN HARLEM

In October 1961, Mayor Robert F. Wagner met with a delegation from the Harlem Neighborhoods Association (HANA) to discuss a comprehensive program for Harlem youth. The Mayor endorsed the proposed program and offered his full support. Deputy City Administrator Henry Cohen assumed responsibility for working with the representatives of the Harlem community in developing the machinery for a meaningful approach to the problems of the youth in Harlem. And it was through him that the HANA representatives were brought in contact with David Hackett, Executive Director of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

The President's Committee was in the process of establishing some sixteen programs for youth in

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The 644-page report. *YOUTH IN THE GHETTO: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change*, of which this brochure is a summary, is available without cost from Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. (HARYOU), 180 West 135th Street, New York, N. Y. 10030.

Also available without cost is a brief pictorial summary (comic magazine), *HARLEM YOUTH REPORT*, Number 5, for the younger reader.

cities across the country, one of them being Mobilization for Youth, Inc., in Manhattan's Lower East Side. The seemingly endless dialogues between the HANA representatives and the staff of the President's Committee concerning the method by which solutions to youth problems in Harlem should be sought resulted in mutual respect, confidence, and cooperation. The technical problems associated with the strengthening of a Board, the employment of a staff, and the development of effective methods were approached with a sense of challenge and enthusiasm.

The name, "Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited" (HARYOU), was suggested by the HANA Committee and the resolution setting up this agency as an independent legal entity was passed by the HANA Board of Directors by the end of April 1962.

The President's Committee made a grant of \$230,000 to HARYOU, as of July 1, 1962, for an eighteen-month planning operation. This grant was further supplemented by \$100,000 from the City of New York. With these funds, HARYOU was able to conduct the planning operation which terminated on December 31, 1963. The program of the Associated Community Teams, Inc. (ACT), also funded at this time by the President's Committee and the City of New York, was from its inception an action program.

### THE HARYOU PROCESS

From the beginning, the HARYOU method and process of planning inevitably involved action as well as research. The nature of the problem and the realities and stresses of the community demanded action-oriented research, a sensitivity to the conflicts within the community, and an attempt at mobilization of the various interests which comprise this volatile community.

The ferment within Negro communities suggests that the past cycle of negative reinforcement of personal and community powerlessness is being supplanted by a more positive pattern of effective personal and community action. This pattern will continue to have a positive effect on the self-image of Negro adults and young people. The present evidence of effective protest could not have emerged out of total stagnation. It reflects, within subjugated human beings, the positive potentials which are somehow kept alive.

It was therefore a unique but integral part of the HARYOU method and process to involve an extensive variety of Harlem's youth in both research and planning on terms which were initially consonant with their style and their perspective of their needs. The most carefully designed programs imposed

upon youth by adults would probably attract the more compliant and tractable young people and those already involved in the youth programs of existing agencies, but to offer such prefabricated programs to scarred, disadvantaged youth, if accepted at all, is likely to encourage dependency and reinforce a sense of dependence and powerlessness.

The task of the HARYOU staff would have been much easier if it could have used exclusively the usual methods of public opinion polling and attitude testing. In the initial stages of research and exploration, the HARYOU staff tested the use of standard methods of data collection. The outstanding finding was that data obtained by these traditional methods did not begin to plumb the depths or the complexities of attitudes, feelings, conflicts, inconsistencies, contradictions, and anxieties which are involved in relating to a community as complex as Harlem. These data could not be taken seriously; they would have presented and perpetuated a superficial and distorted picture of the Harlem community.

### THE HARYOU ASSOCIATES

The most clearly successful approach to the involvement of youth in the planning process of HARYOU took the form of the HARYOU Associates, a group of some 200 young people who were associated with HARYOU during most of its planning phase. While staff members were trying to determine the most effective way to give reality and substance to the planning responsibility by the actual involvement of youth themselves, by a fortunate coincidence they were approached by two young men who wanted to do something to help the large numbers of their friends who were dropping out of school and turning to wine and drugs, and eventually to crime.

The seriousness of these two young men demanded equally serious attention from the HARYOU staff. They agreed to the taping of the interview and, more important, they agreed to arrange a series of meetings of their entire group with the HARYOU staff members. The two young men who were responsible for the original contact with HARYOU sustained their interest and became increasingly identified with the planning goals of HARYOU and worked with their friends and the HARYOU staff in organizing the HARYOU Associates.

The appeal which attracted young people to the Associates was altruistic (concern for the youth of the community), practical (concern for themselves and their future), and social (an opportunity to meet, talk, and socialize with other young people



of their own interests and aspirations). The fact that their ideas were taken seriously, that a place to meet, facilities to work with, materials and funds with which to explore their program ideas were made available to them and that they were able to establish a forum of their peers, contributed to the raising of their self-esteem. This opportunity for the reinforcement of a positive self-image in an apparently free but subtly structured atmosphere seemed the most cohesive force for the Associates. There were many problems and risks involved in sharing with a large group of young people between the ages of 14 and 21, the day-to-day planning operations of a professional staff, but the Associates provided a natural laboratory for studying the forces of the community relevant to the problems of youth.

### THE FINDINGS

Central Harlem, as defined in the study, is that portion of Manhattan immediately north of Central Park. Its boundary lines are coterminous with those of the Central Harlem Health Districts. Within its three and one-half square miles live approximately 232,000 people, 94 percent of them Negro. Thirty-one percent of its population, or some 72,000 persons are under the age of 21.

### THE GHETTO AS HOME

Of the 87,369 housing units in Central Harlem, only ten percent were built since 1929. Most of these are public housing projects. Nearly half of all housing units were built before the turn of the century. As can be expected from the age of the housing, much of it is deteriorating. According to the 1960 Census, 49 percent of this housing is deteriorated or dilapidated. There is also overcrowding; 20 percent of this housing has more than one person per room compared to only 21 percent for the city as a whole. Squalid living conditions in the community have received much publicity. Many of the residents lack hot water, heat, and electricity, and they are forced to wage a losing battle against the intrusion of rodents and other vermin.

As also revealed by the Census, the residential stability of the community is greater than that for New York City. Two-thirds of Central Harlem residents, compared to less than 60 percent for the city as a whole, lived in the same place in 1960 as in 1955. Furthermore, in-migration figures show that only four percent of the residents of Central Harlem are recent migrants from the South; while three-fourths are migrants from other parts of New York City. Informal observations tend to support these figures. For example, the Interdepartmental Neighborhood Service Center, an agency serving

multi-problem families in Central Harlem, reports that the bulk of its caseload are long-term residents of the city. The import of these figures is that the ills of Central Harlem cannot be laid to a mass of new migrants, ignorant of city ways, and unable to cope with the complexities of urban living.

### SOCIAL PATHOLOGY OF THE COMMUNITY

For the past ten years the juvenile delinquency rate for all of the Health Areas of the community has been consistently higher than the New York City average. Furthermore, the rate has been increasing more rapidly than the city average, 5.1 per thousand per year compared to 2.6.

Between 40 and 60 percent of the drug addicts in the United States live in New York City, and for the past seven years the rate for Central Harlem has been consistently almost ten times higher than for the city as a whole.

In figures for venereal disease among youth under 21, the rate for Harlem was six times higher than the city rate in 1960. For infant mortality—the best single index of a community's general health—the rate for Central Harlem in 1961 was 45.2 per thousand live births compared to a rate of 25.7

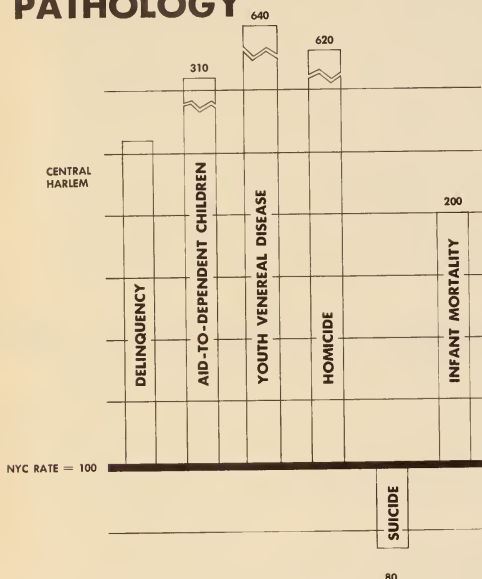
## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY RATE

RATE FOR CENTRAL HARLEM MORE THAN TWICE AS HIGH AS NEW YORK CITY



for New York City. And in aid to dependent children, in the same year, the marginal existence of so many of Central Harlem's families brought the rate to 226.5 per 1,000 youth under eighteen years of age, or three times as high as the city average. Although the suicide rate is slightly below the city average, the homicide rate in Central Harlem is nearly six times the rate for the city.

## CENTRAL HARLEM RANKS EXTREMELY HIGH ON 5 OF 6 INDICES OF SOCIAL PATHOLOGY



1960-1961 Data

Statistical correlations indicate that the sources of the pathology of the community may be found in the areas of education, employment, and family life.

### EDUCATION IN THE GHETTO

It is quite clear that the youth of Central Harlem are failing to acquire an adequate education. The longer children are in school, the larger the proportion who fall below accepted grade levels of performance. In the third grade 30 percent of the children are performing below grade level, and by the sixth grade this proportion has increased to an unbelievable 75 percent. Intelligence Quotients also show a drop between the third and sixth grades.

The problem of education in Central Harlem, however, centers not so much around the fact that the children are not up to grade level as around the reason for their failure. From an analysis of tau rank correlations of selected measures of educational deterioration, it can be inferred, first, that sixth grade performance reflects slightly more a decline in verbal skills (or learning potential), than does third grade performance. This means, in turn, that the ranking of Central Harlem schools in terms of the performance of sixth grade pupils is more accurately predicted by changes occurring between the third and sixth grades than by the actual performance of pupils at an earlier stage in their educational progress. More important, according to the correlations, the performance of third grade pupils tells us nothing at all about how rapidly this performance will deteriorate by the sixth grade. From this it can be inferred that the source of educational problems of Harlem's youth lies in processes which occur during the time they are in school, rather than in processes prior to their entrance into school.

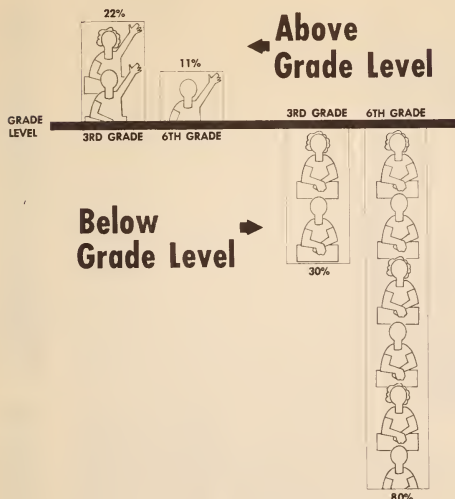
Additional available information also supports this contention. While the concept of the "culturally deprived" child is still being clarified, it is possible to provide some preliminary information on the relationship between the performance of Central Harlem pupils and certain social factors in the community. Three such factors examined were: overcrowded housing, median family income, and the percent of youth under 18 years of age not living with both parents. The environment immediately surrounding each elementary school, and from which the school draws its pupils, was ranked accordingly. These rankings were then correlated with third and sixth grade performance and Intelligence Quotient deterioration. None of the correlations were particularly high, indicating that these social characteristics are minimally related to the educational performance of the pupils in the schools. Furthermore, when the curves illustrating the rate of deterioration are projected back to the beginning of formal education, they show Central Harlem pupils performing at a normal level.

The data obtained from questionnaires and depth interviews also fail to uphold the contention that the deficiencies of home and community are the major reasons why Central Harlem pupils deteriorate educationally. Only when asked to assess the college level potential of the student body did school personnel give what could be called a negative appraisal in that the majority (54 percent) stated that one-fourth or less of the students had potential that high. Yet, when asked what propor-

# UNDERACHIEVEMENT

**80%**

OF THE YOUNGSTERS IN CENTRAL HARLEM SCHOOLS ARE BELOW GRADE LEVEL IN READING COMPREHENSION BY THE 6TH GRADE



tion of their pupils did they expect to finish high school, nearly one-half (43 percent) reported that they expected more than one-half to finish; and over 80 percent stated that they would expect more than half to finish "under more conducive conditions."

The depth interviews also failed to elicit many comments implying that the source of Harlem's educational difficulties is in the pupils or the community. When asked about the worst problem facing teachers in Central Harlem, the respondents were more prone to discuss poor supervision. There was, however, agreement around the Harlem pupil's lack of motivation, poor self-image, and unrealistic aspirations.

When attention is turned toward the schools as the source of the academic failure of Central Harlem's pupils, the evidence is less systematic, but quite compelling. Although such matters as the dearth of Negroes in top administrative positions, the minimal emphasis upon Negro history in the school curriculum, and the inexperience of the teachers may or may not have an impact upon the learning of Central Harlem's youth, the attitudes of school personnel certainly have. The major cause of poor pupil performance is seen to be a belief that the children of Central Harlem are "barely educable." Less is expected of the Central Harlem

pupil; he is rewarded for substandard performance. The result is a steadily increasing gap between what he can accomplish and what is normally accomplished by other New York City pupils at his grade level.

## EMPLOYMENT IN THE GHETTO

Although the rate of unemployment in Central Harlem is higher than the city rate, the chief source of the community's economic problems lies in the menial and poorer paying jobs held by its residents. Nearly two-thirds of the Central Harlem male labor force are semi-skilled workers and laborers. For the female labor force the difference is greater, nearly three-fourths in Central Harlem compared to slightly more than a third of women in the city's labor force. Of even more importance is that many are employed in work which is disappearing due to automation and changes in market demands. In the case of elevator operators, for example, the number in New York City has dropped from 35,000 to 10,000 since 1950.

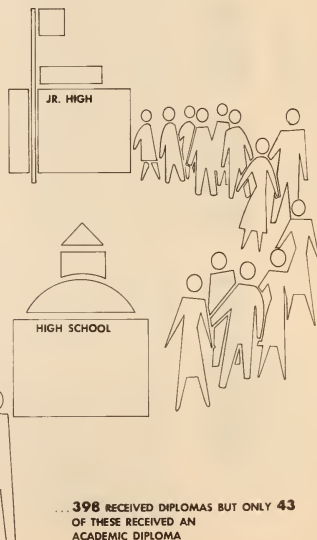
The causes of the lower occupational status of Central Harlem residents lie in poor education, job discrimination, and the actual processes of obtaining a job. Poor educational achievement on the part of the bulk of Central Harlem pupils has been described. In many instances, a biased personnel

## SCHOOL DROP-OUTS:

**55%**

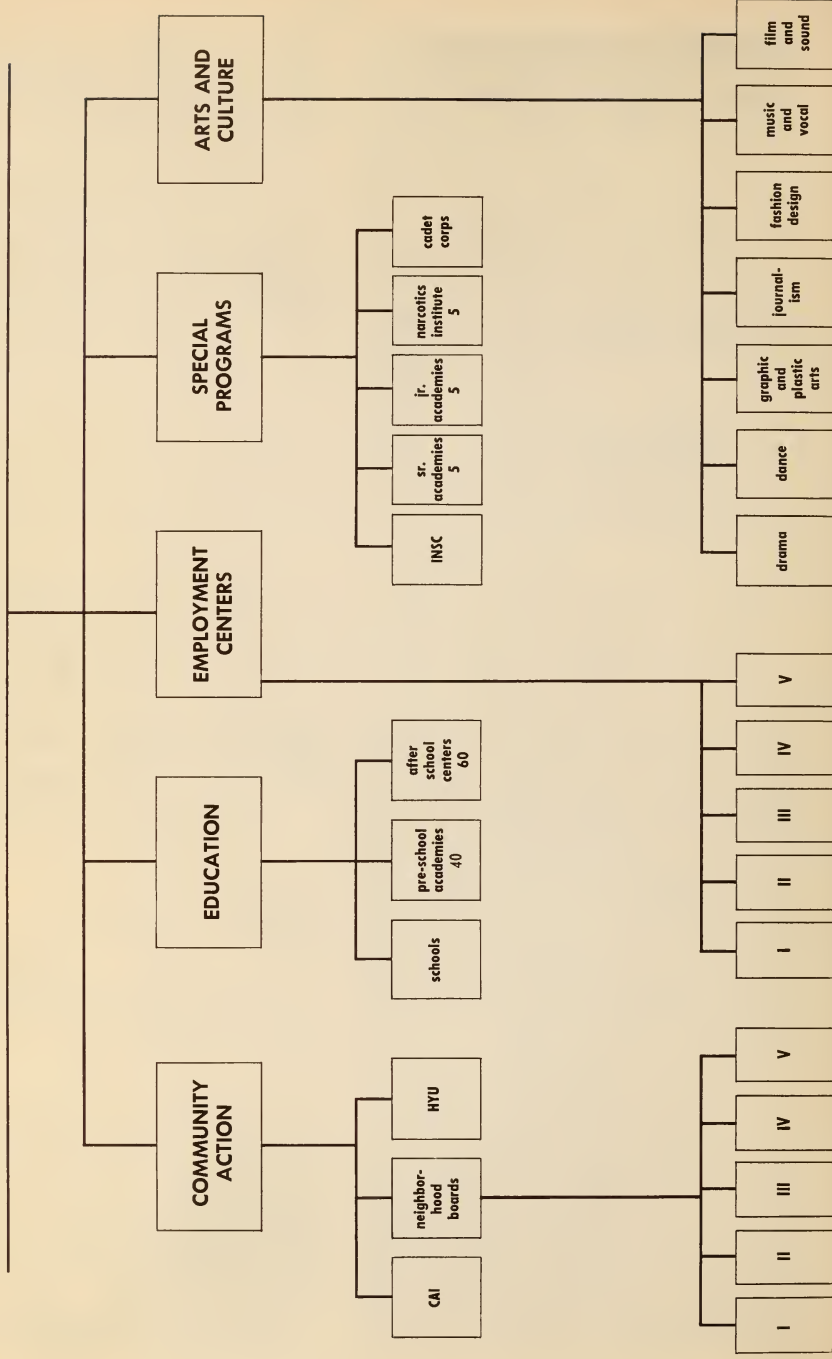
OF THE STUDENTS FROM CENTRAL HARLEM DROPPED OUT OF HIGH SCHOOL WITHOUT RECEIVING A DIPLOMA DURING THE PERIOD 1959-1962

OUT OF 1,276 STUDENTS GRADUATING FROM JR. HIGH SCHOOL IN 1959...



HARLEM YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES UNLIMITED

# HOW THE PROGRAM WILL WORK





# BOARD

**PRES.** **CHIEF CONS.**

VICE PRES.	DEPUTY CHIEF CONS.
<p>1. <b>VICE PRES.</b></p> <p>2. <b>DEPUTY CHIEF CONS.</b></p>	<p>3. <b>VICE PRES.</b></p> <p>4. <b>DEPUTY CHIEF CONS.</b></p>

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## FISCAL

COMP-  
TROUVER

## LEGAL

CHIEF LEGAL	CONS. LEGAL
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## COMMUNITY ACTION

CHIEF	CONS.
1. Chief of Police	1. Chief of Police
2. Chief of Fire	2. Chief of Fire
3. Chief of Public Works	3. Chief of Public Works
4. Chief of Health	4. Chief of Health
5. Chief of Education	5. Chief of Education
6. Chief of Social Services	6. Chief of Social Services
7. Chief of Transportation	7. Chief of Transportation
8. Chief of Housing	8. Chief of Housing
9. Chief of Environment	9. Chief of Environment
10. Chief of Community Development	10. Chief of Community Development
11. Chief of Economic Development	11. Chief of Economic Development
12. Chief of Cultural Affairs	12. Chief of Cultural Affairs
13. Chief of Parks and Recreation	13. Chief of Parks and Recreation
14. Chief of Public Safety	14. Chief of Public Safety
15. Chief of Information Technology	15. Chief of Information Technology
16. Chief of Human Resources	16. Chief of Human Resources
17. Chief of Finance	17. Chief of Finance
18. Chief of Legal Affairs	18. Chief of Legal Affairs
19. Chief of Planning	19. Chief of Planning
20. Chief of Administration	20. Chief of Administration

[illegible]COMMUNITY  
RESEARCHERS

50

COMMUNITY SERVICES

CHIEF  
CONS.

junior  
acad.

75

assoc.  
cons.

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after school	200	assoc. cons.
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cadet  
fficers

500

SSOC.  
CONS.

coffee shop	100	assoc. cons.
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ART &amp; CULTURAL PROGRAMS

CHIEF  
CONS.

dance

music

newspaper

film & sound

art & design

coffee shop **20** cons.

2 cons.

office  
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uniform  
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office  
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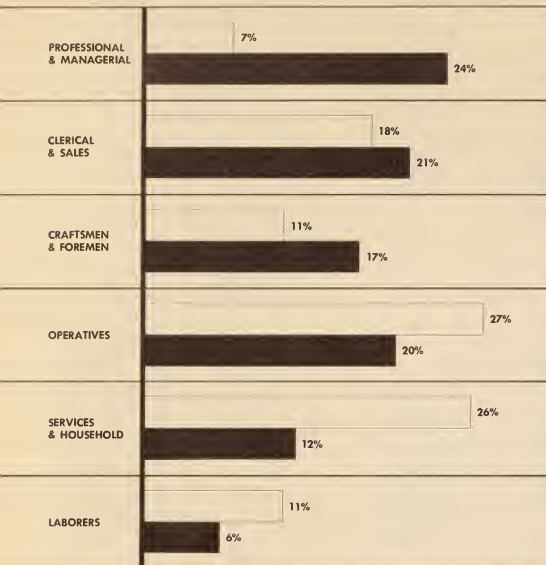
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**DISTRICT COORDINATORS  
ASSOCIATE CONSULTANTS**

**YOUTH STAFF**  
**ADULT CONSULTANTS**

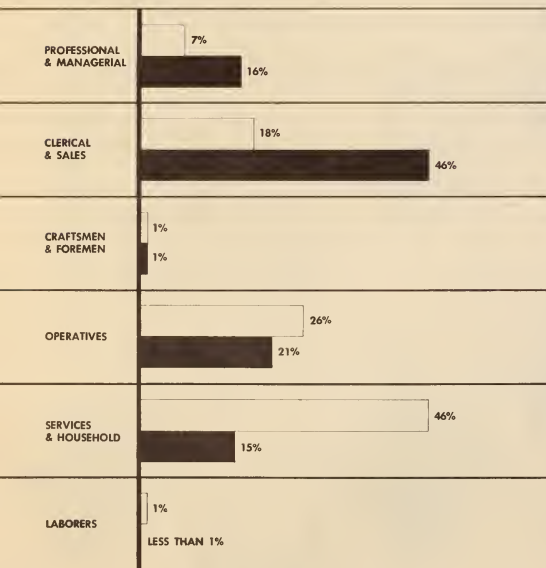
## MALE EMPLOYMENT 1960

CENTRAL HARLEM VS. NEW YORK CITY



## FEMALE EMPLOYMENT 1960

CENTRAL HARLEM VS. NEW YORK CITY



manager can safely refuse employment to one obviously not prepared by formal schooling. The fact of job discrimination is well known. It is especially marked in the skilled trades and in the insurance and banking industries. The way in which jobs are obtained also contributes to the inferior types of occupations held by Central Harlem residents. For the most part, jobs are obtained through informal contacts rather than through formal employment channels; thus, a person is more likely to know about and enter occupations held by friends and relatives. Certain occupational spheres have come to be dominated over the years by the members of certain ethnic groups. This "ethnic lock" tends to restrict free movement from one occupation to another in accordance with manpower demands. For the residents of Central Harlem, it has meant relegation to the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder.

A serious program for youth in the Harlem ghetto must seek not only to upgrade their job skills, but must do so relevant to the expected job market several years hence.

### FAMILY LIFE IN THE GHETTO

Family life in the ghetto is a direct outgrowth of the economic circumstances of its residents. Unable to find stable and meaningful employment, the Central Harlem male cannot carry out his role as husband and father. The result is the abandonment of families reflected in high rates of aid to dependent children. One-half of all youth under eighteen in the community are living with only one parent. The strain placed upon the mother, and older children, in attempting to compensate for the ineffectiveness or absence of the male head of the household disrupts relationships and produces despair, apathy, and frustration. This in turn, lowers the motivation and aspiration of youth, thereby increasing the probability that they will adopt attitudes of hopelessness, anger, and self-defeat.

### CRIES OF HARLEM

The statistical facts about Central Harlem present a picture of despair, hopelessness, and futility. These facts have been known for a long time. Recorded conversations with people from many spheres of Harlem's life starkly reveal the human dimensions of these statistics. The following excerpts are typical illustrations:

— This is a jungle—this is the heart of it.—

Woman, Age 35.

— A lot of times, when I'm working, I become as despondent as hell and I feel like crying. I'm not a man, none of us are men! I don't own anything.

I'm not a man enough to own a store, none of us are. —

Man, Age about 30.

—The first thing we should do, we should all go around and put a padlock on them churches for a hundred years. We got so many churches, from the Hudson River to the East River, and from 110th Street, all the way up to 145th Street right here in Harlem. I don't know how many churches! Holes in the wall, down in the ground, walk-ups and all, and we got churches so big that they should be factories for the black people. —

Woman, Age about 45.

—So, the black man looks at television and he sees those news reporters saying the city is making a move to inspect housing conditions, and the man says that he thinks everything is very deplorable and he's going to make a move to do something about it, and he sets up a commission or he appoints another inspector, and then the days roll by and the rat bites still show up on children and parents find that they still have to sleep in shifts to keep the rats away from the baby at night, and the children are still catching pneumonia in the winter because of the cold and are still not being able to go to schools, which are inferior anyway,

but are still not able to go to the schools because there is no hot water to wash up in the morning and they find that it is easier to stay bundled up in bed in blankets. So, where are the commissions and where are the inspectors and where are the powers that be that are supposed to effect the change?

So, all these frustrations build up within the black man day after day. The system that we live in becomes a vicious cycle and there is never a way out. He begs for change and it seems that the conditions get worse and worse and never make a move toward the better. And we find that for every step forward, we are forced by the powers that be to take five steps backward into even more deplorable conditions. So, when this anger builds up in black people against the power structures, the black man finds a way out; but the way out is often in a bottle of wine or in a needle containing heroin or in a reefer, or in the power of his fists when he slaps his wife down. The woman finds a way out in the power of her hand when she slaps a child down, and so the cycle goes on.

But one unique product of this system is the young Harlemit, and this Harlem youth is the only one who is in a position to step back and look at this cycle objectively because this youth has not yet, because of age, been so viciously tainted by the cycle in this system. This youth doesn't have to risk losing a job because they attempt to fight the powers that be, so the young person is the only one who can step back and look at what exists here.

And the young person, therefore, must be the one to channel the frustrations and the anger away from the bottle and away from the wife and away from the other children and channel toward the power structure and toward the makers of the cycle.

And, therefore, HARYOU must not attempt to teach this young person in Harlem or make the young person in Harlem what HARYOU wants. But HARYOU must be taught by the young person in Harlem. HARYOU must be molded by the young person in Harlem, HARYOU, in essence, must be the young person in Harlem. —

Girl, Age 15.

—I would like to see the day when my people have dignity and pride in themselves as black people. And when this comes about, when they realize that we are capable of all things, and can do anything under the sun that a man can do, then all these things will come back — equality, great people, Presidents — everything. —

Man, Age 19.

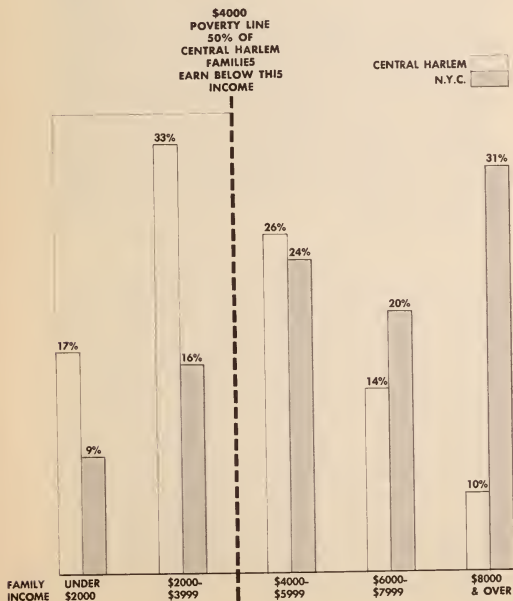
## A BLUEPRINT FOR CHANGE

Through the medium of an interrelated set of programs in community action, education, employment, arts and culture, as well as special programs directed toward the casualties of the ghetto, HARYOU intends to reshape the culture of Central Harlem. Nothing short of a concerted and massive

LOWER OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND HIGHER UNEMPLOYMENT RESULT IN:

## LOWER FAMILY INCOMES THAN NYC AS A WHOLE

1960 Census



attack on the social, political, economic, and cultural roots of the pathology is required if anything more than daubing or a displacement of the symptoms is to be achieved.

With regard to symptom displacement, it is now obvious, for example, that successful efforts to destroy the fighting gangs of Harlem merely resulted in an earlier and fuller flowering of a far more pernicious drug and "hustler" sub-culture. Pyrrhic victories of this kind are consequent of a "problem solving" rather than a "culture building" approach to individual and social pathology. In the development of remedial stratagems, stress on the latter is more likely to accomplish desired ends than too narrow a concern with the presenting problem, be it gang fighting, drug use, or unwed motherhood.

### COMMUNITY ACTION

The core of the HARYOU programs and the basis upon which any claim to innovation must be judged, is in an insistence upon social action rather than dependence upon social services.

Social action, in its operational sense, means and demands the stimulation of concern among individuals who share a common predicament, who are victims of long-standing community problems and injustices, who can be induced not only to identify these problems but to seek to determine the methods by which they can be resolved. Indeed, significant evidence has now emerged to indicate that social action and social protest *are* changing the personal and community aspects of minority status life. HARYOU's goal is to develop in Central Harlem a community of excellence through the concern and initiative of the people of the community.

### THE COMMUNITY ACTION INSTITUTE

Training and indoctrination will be the function of the Community Action Institute. Every person in any way connected with the HARYOU operation will undergo orientation and training in this Institute. This includes indigenous workers, professionals, youth Associates, and volunteers.

### LOCAL NEIGHBORHOOD BOARDS

In each of five designated local areas, HARYOU will recruit a local Neighborhood Board comprised of adults and youth who live or work in the neighborhood and who represent a broad cross-section of the local population. Each Neighborhood Board, with the assistance of a staff placed at its disposal, will assume the on-going responsibility for the critical evaluation of youth, family, and other services. Specifically, these Boards and their implement-

ing staffs will assume responsibility for (1) placing children and their families in touch with social and community services relevant to their needs, (2) recruiting and recommending persons having the requisite traits and qualities for training as direct service workers, (3) inquiring both formally and informally into the effectiveness and efficiency of social and community services, (4) negotiating for the strengthening and improvement of these services with the relevant agencies or departments, and (5) conducting drives and campaigns calculated to sensitize local residents to issues of community concern such as health, school, or housing problems, police protection, and political action.

### HARLEM YOUTH UNLIMITED

More than two hundred active youth Associates were involved in the planning of the HARYOU program. They will comprise the nucleus of the youth movement which their formal organization, Harlem Youth Unlimited (HYU), hopes to create. HYU, the organization of the HARYOU Associates, will develop and sponsor programs in the realm of community action, community service, arts and culture, and businesses such as building repair and renovation, restaurant management, office supplies, and the repair of office equipment. The Community Action Institute, the local Neighborhood Boards, and Harlem Youth Unlimited are the vehicles for social action. They have the functions of suggesting, selecting, and refining the types of services which particular families and individuals might require; of stimulating discussion to increase the understanding of the nature and causes of the problems of the community; and of determining the types of collective action which are essential to the solution of these problems. At the same time, they will provide the training, orientation, and specific skills necessary for sustained and successful community action.

### EDUCATION

Positive educational experiences, designed to enrich the lives of young people, counteract the negative influences of their environment, and establish a foundation for scholastic and personal achievement are mandatory for the children of Harlem. Without these experiences, the chances of success of any of the other aspects of the HARYOU program for youth would be severely limited. HARYOU's educational program package has three components: pre-school training, remediation, and a suggestion for a basic structural and functional reorganization of the public schools in Harlem in order to obtain the highest level of education for the children attending the schools.



*Pre-School Academies.* There are over 12,000 children between 3 and 6 years of age in Central Harlem, an area which has 20 elementary schools and no high school. In order to make an initial and significant impact on the educational pathology of Harlem, at least 4,000 children must be provided with pre-school education. In each school zone, two Pre-School Academies, 40 in all, will each be established to serve 100 children 3 to 6 years of age.

An in-service training aspect of the Pre-School Academy program would be concerned not only with sharpening the skills and developing the insights among professionals, but would also be concerned with the training of indigenous lay personnel, adults and youth, who will assume important roles as teacher aides, cooks, and maintenance and clerical workers.

*After-School Remediation Centers.* For academically retarded school-age children and youth, After School Study Centers must now compensate for the past failures of the public schools. And for this purpose 40 Elementary School After-School Centers, 10 Junior High School Centers, and 10 Senior High School Tutorial Centers are planned.

Of the 31,469 students in the elementary and junior high schools in the Harlem community, the data suggest that at least 50 per cent of those in the elementary schools are sufficiently retarded in the basic academic skills to require intensive remedial work, and at least 80 percent of those in the junior high schools would require extra help if they are to function effectively in high school. It would follow therefore that any after-school remedial and tutorial program based upon the assumption that no one of these students is expendable would have to make provisions for a minimum of 12,000 elementary school pupils and nearly 6,000 junior high school pupils. A program of the magnitude proposed would have to be implemented in stages, and many elements of the program would be contracted out in the community.

*Reading Mobilization Year.* Before anything else can be done with the hope of success within these schools, it will be necessary to raise significantly the reading level of these children. There is a welter of evidence that this can be done. The experience in Junior High School No. 43, and the success of Northside Center's Remedial Reading Program with "culturally deprived" children who had the additional handicap of emotional disturbance, demonstrates that a concentrated remedial reading program can help the majority of these children reach their grade level in reading.

It is therefore proposed that as a necessary first step in the development of a program to attain

educational excellence in the Harlem schools, the Board of Education should drop its normal curriculum in these schools for a period of a half school year, or perhaps a full school year, and immediately mobilize all resources toward the goal of raising the reading level of all children in the Harlem schools. During this Reading Mobilization Year the total school program in the schools would be geared toward the improvement of reading while all other school work would be temporarily postponed. It would be the task of each teacher and her assistants to see that every child of normal intelligence and above reach at least his grade level in reading. Whatever special techniques, devices, motivation, and stimulation are required to attain this goal must be instituted.

### *Employment*

The creation and expansion of employment opportunities for youth are crucial components of any major effort addressing itself to the social problems confronting the youth of Central Harlem. By virtue of the long isolation of Harlem from the mainstreams of New York City's economy, its youth have not been able to take their place as productive and creative members of the larger metropolitan community. This situation is not improving. Increasingly, Negro and Puerto Rican youth are abandoned to scramble for a diminished number of unskilled, unfulfilling, and undesirable jobs. This situation calls for dramatic and imaginative intervention on behalf of such youth.

Over a three-year period, 7,000 Central Harlem youths, ages 6 through 21, will receive job training through a joint Associated Community Teams — Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited Employment and Occupational Training Program. At five training centers, this ACT-HARYOU Employment and Occupational Training Program would offer a distinctive cluster of specialized training programs, with institutional training given in occupations in which the demand for skilled workers is greater than the supply. The development of openings in these occupations would be the function of the job development section of this program, through job campaigns, employer education programs, and the publicizing of the employment services of the program.

### *Special Programs*

The zeal and imagination often characteristic of delinquent patterns of behavior obviously represent considerable human energy being put to futile or self-destructive use. A major task for HARYOU will be the redirection of these energies into more personally and socially useful channels.

*Junior and Senior Academies.* Five Harlem Youth Junior Academies and five Senior Academies are

planned to serve juvenile offenders and other adjudicated youth as a halfway house between the institution and the community. Using educational techniques which seek to impart formal education in non-classroom situations, the program will make extensive use of such skills as filmmaking, tape recording, role playing, and peer-guided group discussions for the purpose of education and for the development of an understanding of the relationship between self and society. Here, extensive use will be made of the whole range of HARYOU-funded programs such as the Cadet Corps, Arts and Cultural workshops in drama, dance, music, and the graphic arts. This cross-participation is intended to prevent the development of a stigmatized and in-grown delinquent community. For the older group, 14 through 17, the program would also seek to involve them in occupational training and employment programs, remediation centers, and other on-going HARYOU projects as well as in programs contracted out in the community.

*Narcotics Institutes.* Also through its planned Institutes for Narcotics Research, detoxification and rehabilitation would involve cross-participation in other programs.

After detoxification, two courses of treatment would be available, counseling and referral, and group living. The latter would involve an around-the-clock program in basic education, basic skills training, educational recreation, intensive group therapy and peer-guided discussion sessions.

*Interdepartmental Neighborhood Service Center.* There are currently some four to five thousand families in Central Harlem in the "multiple-problem" category. There is a family service agency in the Harlem community, the Interdepartmental Neighborhood Service Center (INSC), which attempts to work with multi-problem families by attempting to coordinate the social welfare concerns of these families, operating across a tangle of functional and agency lines. A mutually supporting and beneficial arrangement can be developed wherein HARYOU enables INSC to perform more effectively while INSC helps those with debilitating emotional and personal problems to function better in the HARYOU programs.

*Cadet Corps.* One of the main symptoms of widespread educational deficiency is a marked loss of motivation. Under such conditions, academic motivation must be restimulated by tying educational proficiency to the attainment of other interests and goals. In the proposed HARYOU Cadet program involving 50 corps, advancement up the ranks will be partially based on mastering the manual which will also be an appropriate graded reader, although its content is relevant to the Corps' interests.

## *Arts and Culture*

HARYOU's programs in arts and cultural affairs will provide opportunities for some 5,000 young people to participate in the full range of classes and workshops in the graphic, plastic, and performing arts. At the same time, the employed artists and craftsmen will serve as adult consultants to business enterprises of Harlem Youth Unlimited, such as coffee shops, a Film and Sound Studio, and an Industrial Arts, Fashion, and Interior Design Studio. Those involved here would design and produce audio-visual aids and illustrated texts for such programs as the Pre-School Academies, the After-School Remediation Centers, the Institutes for Narcotics Research, the Cadet Corps, and the Neighborhood Board organizations. And finally, young artists and performers who have distinguished themselves in their fields in the workshops will move toward professional standing in a HARYOU Playhouse, by way of engagements in the coffee shops.

Beyond involvement in the building and staffing of such enterprises as coffee shop cultural centers and other previously mentioned businesses, on-the-job training in business enterprises which will be operated by the youth as services to the community would include a uniform and sporting goods store, an office equipment and supply firm, a building renovation contracting company, and a corps of contract salesmen.

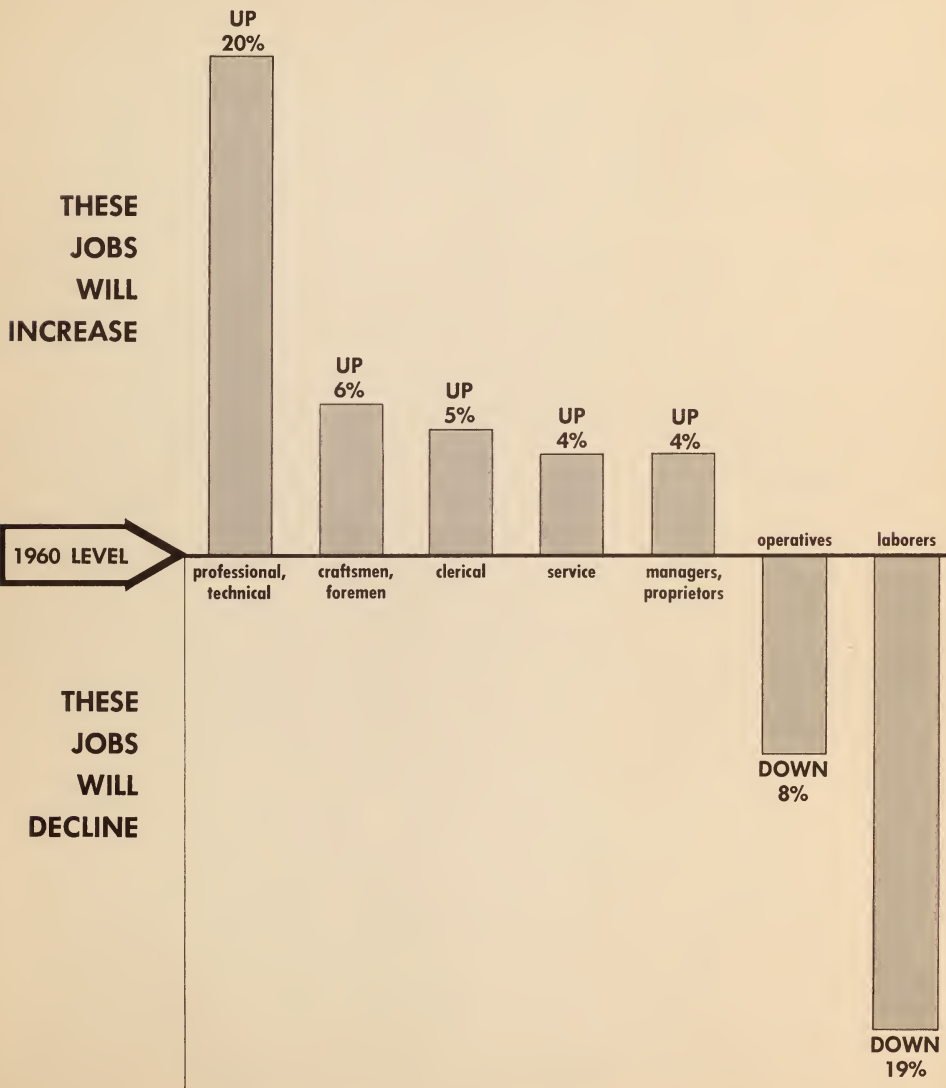
## RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

An action program, consisting of so many parts and designed to produce radical changes in the experiences of youth, must make provision for sharing the fruits of its experience with others. It is necessary to know whether the total HARYOU program had any impact upon the pathology, lives, and structure of the Central Harlem community. It is also necessary for the administrators of the program to be reliably informed about the population it is endeavoring to serve and the operations of the program parts. Finally, it seems important to concentrate attention upon some of the specific HARYOU program efforts so that knowledge of effective and ineffective programming and approaches may be disseminated. In order to be judged successful, it is not enough to demonstrate changes in Central Harlem's rates of pathology, in the aspirations and motivations of its people, and in its institutional arrangements. These changes must also be shown to be consequences of HARYOU's programs.

HARYOU's triumphs and defeats will thus be the raw material out of which can come better understanding of the ways in which social and psychological forces may be harnessed to better the lives of all.

# JOB SKILLS NEEDED IN TOMORROW'S WORLD

PROJECTED CHANGES IN NYC EMPLOYMENT 1960-1970



# CENTRAL HARLEM

 PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

 HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

 JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS



NEIGHBORHOOD BOUNDARIES

SEYMOUR DURST